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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "taltul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" were laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise
was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear
the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj.
After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation
for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line
up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is
drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of
labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do
the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of
washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[562]

614 [769] along men", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 276 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

132 How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nemb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar, Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Kwiya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong.
323 Mar was working hembank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his presitge. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gourie pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dosed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mes would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mes one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mes marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mes. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [952] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tengwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunge kafesmaeni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Gawi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Kwos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

Tobacco

276 973 Long, long ago, Sukugaratɨ shot Sokwayɨgurɨ and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratɨ made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdengara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

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183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

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[192] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hiŋ/ wə@ə@taw/)